/157 cont./

286 always lies conveniently in front of the woman for the weft. The beginning and end of the woven part start at a distance of about three centimeters from the horizontal stick. At the end the last weft thread is knotted at the edge of the warp. When the stick is pulled out, the band comes off the frame. Since the warp threads terminate in loops, the texture of the band cannot become slack.

2. Weaving Apparatus for Cloth

286 The weaving of cloth of larger dimensions for clothing is
294 also done in the technique of the linen texture and according to the same method as the weaving of the carrying bands for the
[584] fiber bags. Every woman can do both, for she herself must be able to make all the material needed by her family for clothing; otherwise a girl has no prospect of getting married.

The weaving apparatus stands upright and consists of two strong posts which are rammed into the ground about two meters apart in front of the house, but still in the shelter of the roof. Into each of these posts, a little above the ground, a notch is cut, into which the breast beam is placed horizontally and lashed. Its position with respect to height is unchangeable. The warp beam, likewise horizontal, may be lashed to the vertical post with ropes higher or lower, depending on the length of the cloth to be woven, whereby a uniform tension of the warp threads is achieved.

The non-twisted woolen warp threads are stretched in the same way as in the case of the carrying bands for the fiber bags. The width is determined by the piece of material to be woven.
[461] The work period for a woman's skirt takes a total of about six months. In order to attain a certain decorative effect in the finished piece, between the uncolored sheep-wool warp-threads are stretched likewise uncolored or differently colored cotton threads which, in the subsequent dyeing process with plant dyes, do not take on this coloring.

/177 cont./

the wife is always responsible for the food. Men do not cook. Old, solitary persons or unmarried girls or men live with relatives or friends, but never alone, since a single person is unable either to protect himself or to provide for himself adequately.

The father's authority is great. Wife and children owe him absolute obedience. Nevertheless, the man does not have the right to alienate personal articles of members of the family or possessions that they made themselves. Thus, for example, he is not in a position to sell a coca bag or a fiber bag belonging to his wife or his children's toys.

The children are given the family name of the father, but the women keep their maiden names even after marriage. There is no external indication in dress or hair style or otherwise for unmarried girls and married women. The wife is obligated to work for her husband and children in her family. Beyond that she may procure personal belongings for herself by weaving cloth beyond the needs of her family, for example, and trading it for ornaments.

If the young people are still living in the house with their parents, the daughter-in-law is not absolutely subordinate to her mother-in-law, although this appears to be so, to judge from the speech at the wedding ceremony. A relationship of dependence is out of the question because of the separate kitchens. Usually, however, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law are on good terms, and then it is not uncommon for only one woman to cook for both families, for there is no in-law avoidance. Then the two women share the work of cleaning the house.

Conjugal fidelity is demanded of both marriage partners; in the case of the man, however, it is sometimes not taken so seriously. If a man surprises his wife, however, or she her husband, in marital infidelity, the deceived party may beat (but not kill) both and report them to the cabildo, which again has the guilty party very soundly thrashed.

Illegitimate children are not rare among the Paez. In case an unmarried girl has a child, she is beaten by her parents and

In general
842 /184 cont./every girl desires a great
[581] many children, for this is the chief requirement for being married.
Moreover, the percentage of barren women -- in childless marriages,
[162] they say, the fault is always the woman's -- is not small. Accord-
ing to inquiries, it comes to about 10 per cent. Men generally
want boys; the women, girls, in order to have help in the house-
845 hold. Twin births are rare, but they are not regarded as anything
special; rather, people are happy about them as they are about
other children. Deformities at birth are said not to occur; how-
ever, I saw several persons with cleft palates. They seem to be
ashamed of this, for in conversations with us they always held
947 their hands over their mouths. Infanticide does not occur. To
123 inquiries about this, there was always the completely horrified
counterquestion as to whether that was the case in my country.
165 Overpopulation is not to be feared, even with a larger number
[163] of children -- the average is three to four living children per
family -- since infant mortality comes to more than 50 per cent.
[164] Whooping cough is the most frequent cause of death among small
children.

a) Birth and Childhood

843 The parents' concern for the child begins even before birth.
The husband of a pregnant woman expecting her first child must
sleep with her very frequently, for otherwise the child would be
very weak. In the case of subsequent children this is no longer
[783] required so often after the beginning of pregnancy. The pregnant
woman may not leave the house or eat pork for two months before
the birth, since this causes "pest" and she would have stomach
[822] pains; this would be very detrimental to the child. For the same
reason she may not eat beans and onions, and no fish because it
comes from the cold element, water, and because a pregnant
woman must not become cold.

843 According to one informant, the pregnant woman retires
343 to the menstruation hut (dúyat) two to three weeks before the
124 birth. During this time her mother or another female relative
cooks for the family. According to another informant, the
ooo /185/ woman does not retire to the dúyat until the birth. In any

/185 cont./

844 until very late and only with great difficulty. The proper depth is supposed to be about 30 centimeters.

846 Four to six days after birth and after the first bath, the
851 father or one of the godparents brings the child to the sacristan of
608 the village or /186/ to the women missionaries, in order to have
[797] it christened with water and given the name of the Christian saint
[551] of the christening day. Every child has only one given name and the Paez surname of its father. The baptism by the priest with oil takes place later on a suitable occasion, in the presence of the god-
[783] parents, and is followed by an eating and drinking bout. The
[756] mother also takes part in this, after she has left the dúyat and has washed herself, her child, and her clothes and has been purified by the shaman.

861 The rearing of the children is in the hands of the parents, who teach them the necessary accomplishments of life quite as a matter of course and almost in play. Disobedient children are also beaten, however, and, to be sure, usually if the son has no real desire to help his father with the field work. In punishing, the fathers are generally stricter than the mothers and on occasion beat them with leather straps all over their bodies. The boxing
[461] of ears is also to be seen. If a young man proves to be lazy in later life, the father is blamed because he did not properly ad-
848 monish his son to work. Illegitimate sons, who lack the strict hand of a father, are said to turn out badly in many cases, though as such they are very popular. Since they do not know their father, they are not obliged to work in his field. They are all the more
[426] in demand as helpers in the fields of other families. When they
[431] are older, they may borrow land and establish a family. Usually they even receive the land as a present. Thus, they need not
848 starve by any means. Illegitimate daughters are in a more unfavor-
562 able position, for their help is not needed for the most part, and their mother does not have a household of her own. Nevertheless
[583] their marriage prospects are not unfavorable, since a girl does not
[581] have a dowry, but is married only on the basis of her personal qualities.

/191 cont./

584 father, and the latter distributes it /192/ to everyone and gives
431 the bringer and all those present some of his own chicha to drink. This continues all night until everyone is drunk. In the morning the daughter-in-law, along with her father-in-law, goes back to the house of the latter, and from then on she lives with her husband until the wedding.

606 In case the father of the girl should not be satisfied with the
585 young man as a son-in-law, he would still not take any practical action against this union of his daughter, since he does not have to pay a dowry anyway. Besides, once children arrive, the
[591] parents are always satisfied. If, conversely, the father of the young man is not satisfied with the latter's choice of a bride, he may refuse him his house. In this case the young people customarily immediately build their own house, a small one at first.

58 The wedding generally does not take place very soon after courtship among the Paez, but only after a year or more. First of all there begins a trial period, which, however, has an altogether conjugal character. During this time of "trial marriage" the housekeeping abilities of the girl are to be tested, for the latter brings into marriage no dowry of any kind from her parents or any other possessions except her clothing. Since there are no social grounds for a choice of bride in the nonstratified Paez community, and no stimulus to marry on the grounds of a large dowry or on account of the possibility of a low bride price, there are no
● 581 child betrothals. As bride and wife a girl has only the merit of
462 her personality and her personal capabilities. The latter have the greater weight. It is required of a woman that she be able to cook and to weave the cloth for the whole family, that she not gossip, keep the house in order, and, above all, that she be able to keep the fire going at night and prepare the meal on time in
[264] the morning. The Paez are in the habit of having their first meal
[252] very early, at five or four o'clock in the morning, and an hour before that the woman must already begin preparing the food.
[362] Moreover, as we have seen, the walls of the house are only made
[513] of maize stalks placed side by side, and give scarcely any protection against the coolness of the night. They therefore sleep lying

/192 cont./

581 462 513 around the hearth fire, and this must be stirred and provided with wood every two hours. This is the task of the wife, who, therefore, sleeps next to the fire. Throughout practically her whole life, she is never able to sleep all through the night.

583 If during the trial year the bride does not meet the demands of the man, if she either cannot cook or is lazy or /193/ does not like to get up in the morning, he sends her back to her father. Since no wedding celebration has taken place, sending back the girl leads to no resentment of any kind. It does, however, if children have resulted from the trial marriage and the young man [684] nevertheless changes his mind. In this case, to be sure, nothing [623] can be changed with regard to his decision -- after all, he has not yet been officially married -- but, since such an action is condemned, he is beaten by the cabildo. He may then begin a 583 new trial marriage with another girl. The children of the previ- 848 ous trial marriage (they are designated by the Paez with the [557] Spanish term hijo natural) are given the name of the mother. There are not a few such "natural children." The mothers, however, are not scorned or judged harshly on that account and do not by any means have poorer prospects for a subsequent marriage. The children are not adopted in case of a subsequent marriage by the [761] mother and keep their mother's name. It is believed, however, [851] that such "natural children" will soon die. They are not baptized, since the priest baptizes only legitimate children, or else demands such a large sum for the baptism of an illegitimate child that the unmarried mother cannot raise it.

585 The actual wedding celebration takes place after the period [178] of the trial marriage. Today the prior marriage service by the Catholic priest in the church is usually combined with this wedding celebration. The money for this, as for the expenses of the wedding celebration, must be raised by the young man himself. [435] This takes him many months. First of all, besides the cost of ten pesos for the marriage service, he must have collected the money for an ox, then prepare chicha in sufficient quantities, for which sugar cane is milled for about a month, and also provide for the rest of the food. In general his father or brothers do not

/287 cont./

4. Music

533 In no area of Paez culture is poverty evident to such an ex-
535 tent as in song and dance, the predominant expressions of the character and spirit of all peoples. No peculiar dance is per-
[173] formed among the /288/ Paez, and I heard no song sung. This undoubtedly represents an impoverishment, for it may be seen
533 from the folklore that in former times there was dancing. A
[173] similar conclusion must also be drawn about the playing of very
[181] agreeable music. Their knowledge of music, however, makes it highly probable that song also existed, especially among a people
[581] that is basically jolly and constantly disposed to jest. In fact,
524 it is very difficult for a girl who is slow in jocular conversation to
522 get a husband. And to my question about the Paez word for "sing
[192] house" listed in Uricoechea, the amiable Victoriano, to his own great surprise, was immediately able to give me a special word in his language, "mémyat."

534 It is not possible to say with certainty which of the musical
[171] instruments used by the Paez today is an original one. The absence of any kind of rattle, the outstanding instrument of the American natives, is surprising (*).

* Pittier de Fábrega (p. 325) /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 326/, however, mentions among the musical instruments of the Paez a rattle (tsoóts) in the form of a calabash with a handle, which was filled with small stones. Whether this may not perhaps be an instrument of the Negroes of Belalcázar is still undecided.

534 The cow horn (kǎčn) found in every house is not in the true
202 sense a musical instrument, but one for signaling. It is completely undecorated and, consisting of a horn sawed off at the tip, gives only one tone, which is produced in the same manner as the tone of a bugle or fanfare. This horn is used by the men when they come down from the mountains after a joint felling of the trees needed for housebuilding, in order to notify the village of their return.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

147 the odor peculiar to the Indians, which becomes quite noticeable when they are sweating and which so closely resembles that of the secretion of the so-called *saíno*, or wild hog (*Dicotyles tajacu* L.), that I have more than once been deceived into believing that our trail crossed the path of a drove of these animals.

516 When at rest the Paez men almost invariably sit on their heels, the toes sustaining the whole weight of the body, while the women sit with their legs stretched together on the ground, [514] even when near the fire in their houses. In micturition young 481 girls remain standing. The gait of both men and women is short-paced and easy, the body being always slightly inclined forward, probably on account of the habit of carrying heavy loads.

824 Like all children of Nature, the Paez Indians are very keen 826 observers of their surroundings, as is shown by the minuteness of their differentiation in plants and in certain groups of insects. Castillo, for instance, gives the names of no fewer than six different varieties of ants —

[552] *kun-kik* *cĭi-kik-ne* *oia-i*
kik-finis *gnue-kandi* *to-fiti*

and I collected very few plants for which they did not have a ready name.

Reproduction and Death

881 When a girl reached puberty the event was celebrated among the old Paez Indians by a special dance called *itsa-ko*, during which the young naked female was placed in a hole dug outside the hall-house and thoroughly washed with *chicha*. We have no 836 notice of pre-marital liberty being conceded to women, nor of the relation of children to parents in the family organization. As 595 tradition has it, the pre-conquest Paez were polygamous, and notwithstanding the efforts of the missionaries, it is almost certain that this practice has not completely disappeared. We know nothing about the existence of marriage ceremonies before 581 the introduction of the Catholic ritual. It is likely, however, [586] that marriages were endogamous and free, and, as such, a very frail institution, as Castillo informs us that even in his time

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

marriage bonds were not definitely made until experiment indicated the fecundity of the woman, and that the union was dissolved at the will of the husband if the wife proved to be barren. The same authority informs us that the wife had to give her husband the necessary clothing, while the husband provided food for the family.

A custom mentioned by Castillo was that during menses the women spent the time sitting in small huts expressly built for that purpose, for fear of contaminating the common dwelling and of bringing disease and death to its occupants.

Rodriguez relates another custom in connection with childbirth and death: ". . . y siempre que pare la mujer, ó que muere alguno de su familia, desamparan la casa, dexando en ella al difunto con cantidad de bastimento y de la chicha, brebage, que beben: y á las casas donde parió la mujer, las dejan con las inmundicias de el parto, y acabadas de nacer las criatures, las laban, y se vañan sus madres, poniendose en viaje á buscar nuevo paraje para su habitacion, que siempre procuran sea en parte muy fragosa, por no ser visitados."

These details are confirmed by Castillo and were probably still observed in his time. As to what is done at present, and regarding the family organization in general, it is very difficult to obtain reliable information. The Indians are very jealous of their women, do not tolerate in them any intercourse with strangers, and become instantly distrustful when questioned about family matters.

With reference to death, Castillo differs from Rodriguez in that he states that a dying person was taken from the house, so that he did not actually die in it, and that the dwelling was destroyed by fire. He does not mention the custom of leaving food near the corpse, but states that the body was buried and a fence built around the grave.

Diseases

No diseases came under my observation during my stay at Huila and Tacueyó, and the Indians rather impressed me as being a healthy people. But if their vocabulary affords suffi-

/179 cont./

594 Associated with the nuclear family primordially are the functions of reproduction, the rearing of children, and the education of the latter. On procreation depends also the importance of economic functions.

581 589 [183] [842] [775] The orientation of the sexual instinct is a secondary end. Indeed, Páez culture demands that every individual form a family, once he has acquired the capacity for procreation. In the parcialidad of Calderas they look upon children as a blessing from God, regarding celibates "como violadores de la cruz" /as violators of the cross/(marriage); celibacy is condemned, in the rationalization that the person who dies celibate goes to the [754] Nevado del Huila, considered by them as hell. The celibacy of a woman is exceptional, and when it occurs they believe that she becomes a witch. They think something similar about some 581 widows. One woman of some fifty years of age says that 589 "marriage is fundamental and obligatory, for the grandfathers 775 used to say that to a woman who is not married the devil gives a black dog for a husband in hell" (7). Another woman declared

[825] 7. They regarded white dogs as companions and guides in the future life and fear that "if molested they will come out and bite them at the entrance to the future abode."

that at times she feels sorrow for the death of an unmarried daughter, "because the devil would give her a husband."

581 183 [582] [842] The culture considers it an obligation of parents to marry off their daughters even if they are very young. Furthermore the young men aspire to "build their house, marry, produce children, have animals, coca in abundance, and sugar cane for their chicha" (8). The incentive to marry is to have children,

8. Bernal Villa, S. 1953, op. cit., p. 183.

for which purpose it is necessary to have assurance /180/ that the woman is fecund,

/180 cont./
the woman is fecund. For this the culture offers the institutional device of "amaño," by which the man lives with the woman for a time before legalizing the marriage. And we are given clear and precise information about this by Licenciado Eugenio del Castillo y Orozco and his brother, Licentiado Isidro del Castillo y Hrozco /sic/, in their respective reports which they gave to the Governor and Captain General mentioned above: "that they followed the evil custom of living in intimate relations for a long time with the woman whom they were to marry, and if after the marriage they had no offspring they would leave her and seek another woman who might be fecund and whom they thought they might marry if they were not married to their own wives (as Manuel Bolza, an Indian of this village (9), wished

9. Tálaga.

to do), and as was done by Antonio Cofongo (an Indian of San Antonio de las Chinas), from whom he learned not to break up the legitimate religious marriage, which could be prohibited, and who suggested that they get out of the difficulty by any false means, even to arranging for others, from the lowest Indian to the highest, to testify to a lying statement, and if anyone dissented from it and would not follow the wish of the Cacique or Moján, fear caused the dissenters to escape to other parts; some fled with their concubines when they were not acceptable to her parents or relatives, others to avoid work, and others from necessity" (10) ..."and that they flee from all their vices and

10. Archivo Nacional de Bogotá, op. cit., Folio 228.

sins, which are: witchcraft, drunkenness, and concubinage" (11).

11. Archivo Nacional de Bogotá, op. cit., Folio 230.

/181 cont./

162 583 595 Lame: 8 families (6.2% of the approximate total of Lame families). 87.5% were married first by the Church; 12.5% practiced the amaño.

184 Mosoco: 26 families (10.4% of the approximate total of families in Mosoco). 88.1% followed the Catholic law; 11.6% practiced the amaño.

Although the percentages for the parcialidades of San Andrés and Lame may not reflect fully the real situation concerning the custom owing to the paucity of data, one can clearly see the vigor that it still has in Calderas, a parcialidad less acculturated, of course, than the others. Once the man is convinced of the fertility of his mate, the marriage is legalized at the altar of the Catholic Church. Then the economic co-operation of the spouses, initiated at the beginning of their married life, is stabilized and gains strength, and the marriage becomes, as one of our informants remarked, an association for the "mutual benefit of the contracting parties, to serve each other, without in any way being a burden to either of them." The man enlarges his clearings in order to take care of "the sustenance of the family," plants sugar cane and coca in order to obtain chicha and narcotic for holding mingas /work parties/, in order to celebrate religious festivals, in order to "cuidar" his relatives and to relax with his friends; he hires himself out as a peon /182/ in order to acquire money and to buy shawls for his wife, wool and cloth that the woman makes into camisas for herself, her husband, and her sons, and trousers for these last, begins to build his house, if he does not have one, on the lot that his father has assigned to him, to make a home for his family. The woman, on her part, administers the products that her husband brings to her, weaves the ruana /poncho/ and kuetand-yaha (mambe pouch /a bag for the ingredients of chews/) for the husband and children, prepares the food, raises hens and pigs, and cares for her children less than three years old (13). In this manner, among the Páez, marriage,

581 594 [585] 594 462

13. For the division of activities according to sex, see our work "Economía de los Páez /Economy of the Paez/," /published in the

/182 cont./

462 13. (cont.)
594 Revista Colombiana de Antropología, Vol. III, 1954.

361 In this manner, among the Paez, marriage,
182 family, land, and house form an intimate unit, indissoluble and
594 in part explaining the above-mentioned phenomenon of the re-
581 luctance to live grouped in towns or cities.

473 Basically the residence of the nuclear family is patrilocal-
591 neolocal. When the man, accompanied by his escort, goes to
[584] ask for his future consort, and, after certain definite formalities are fulfilled, the future parents-in-law hand her over, she is taken to live in the house of his parents (when he has not built
591 his own). In it he arranges a separate room with a kitchen for
596 cooking, a cowhide to sleep on, and space in which to keep their provisions, their kitchen utensils, and work tools. The new
[593] spouses are independent of their respective parents. The man assists in the work of his parents-in-law and the woman in the work of hers, but in neither case does it constitute an obligation
[594] for them. When a bachelor, the man works to take care of his own needs and to assist in the support of the paternal economy; once married he works to support his family.

582 The man chooses his wife within the parcialidad, although
177 he may marry women from other parcialidades. But neither men nor women may marry persons from Western culture ("whites"). In Calderas there was a case of a possible marriage between a native woman and a "white." The cabildo removed this possibility, obliging the native woman to marry a member of the parcialidad. If it is a man who wishes to try to marry a "white" woman, he must leave the village. They consider that when the "whites" enter the community, they invariably appropriate their land.

582 The selection of spouses within the parcialidades is /183/ determined by the laws of incest. Unions between parents and children and real brothers and sisters are incestuous and severely prohibited. Also relations between cousins of the first degree of both lines and those of uncles and nieces are condemned, although not

prescribed.

/186 cont./

837 Should an unfaithful wife conceive a child by a man
851 racially white and the husband not be aware of it, the latter considers it his child even if it should inherit the characteristics of its progenitor. He will simply observe, "Why do my children come like this?" His wife answers him, "I don't know; it may
● 581 be echi or Pijao." In general, marriages are well established and
593 stable, in spite of the fact that occasional tensions may arise between spouses. Divorce is unknown among the Páez. Extinction
586 of marriages by separation or the abandonment of one of the spouses is rare. In Calderas they can count on the fingers of one hand the cases where a man has abandoned his wife. "This is very ugly in a person, it should never happen," comments a woman. Cases in which a woman abandons the husband are much rarer still, being bitterly criticized when they occur.

594 The mother has the obligation to feed and care for her
854 children up to when they can leave home. Labor which she
[853] truly performs with love and care. The children suckle until they are two years old and even up to three, a period during which she never leaves them at any time. She cradles them on her breast or in the hammock and carries them on her shoulders,
594 attending to them lovingly whenever they cry. The father looks
867 after his boys from the time that they gain complete mastery of
[593] the biped state, without this making him less loving toward his daughters. Then he begins to take his sons everywhere.

During religious festivals they sit at his side, participate in the conversation of their elders, and are served food and
[273] drink in the same way as their elders. In Calderas and in /187/ San Andrés we had the opportunity to observe children five years old reeling under the effects of chicha and aguardiente. At this age, when they begin to take part in the economic life of the family group, the father teaches them to chew coca. The father conscientiously performs this labor of endoculturation.

597 We have not come across any cases of adopted children.
736 When both parents die, the children stay in the home of the nearest relative.

593 The conduct of the children toward their parents is that of deep respect. Nevertheless, in Calderas we witnessed the verbal